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Validity Study of NIE 34-54:

Probable Developments in Iran Through 1955,

published 7 December 1954

NIE 34-54 has held up well in most respects for a period considerably beyond its formal date of expiration; most of its main judgments still appear to remain basically sound. However, in stressing the continuing importance of popular discontent and restlessness, the estimate failed to anticipate the extent to which the Shah has thus far been successful in controlling such tendencies and strengthening his own control of the government. In particular, it did not anticipate that the Shah would solve the leadership problem by installing a puppet cabinet. Similarly, the estimate failed to anticipate that the Shah would adhere to the Baghdad Pact despite the lack of real popular support for such a move and despite US unwillingness to provide prior security and increased aid commitments which might be used to justify Iranian adherence.